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James W. Comerford.

LIFE

OF

King Henry the Third.

HENRY *the* III *King of England: Duke of Aquitane, Earle of Poictiers and Anjou, Lord of Ireland. He died at the age of 65 yeares, after he had raigned 56 yeares and lieth intombed at Westminster.* 1272.

Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce

A

Short View

OF THE

Long Life and Raigne

OF

Henry the Third,

KING OF ENGLAND.

PRESENTED

TO

King James.

1627.

Only one hundred Copies printed.

Reprinted by S. Hodgson, Union-Street,
Newcastle upon Tyne, 1817.

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PREFACE.

In the reign of John, the father of Henry III. the nation beheld nothing but rapaciousness, tyranny, and pusillanimity. In this latter Prince,—notwithstanding many injudicious measures in the internal administration of the country, and a vile abuse of the confidence he reposed in the horde of minions,—court favourites and foreigners,—by whom he was constantly surrounded and over-swayed, and whose aim, as might be expected, was merely to enrich themselves with public plunder,—we feel much more to applaud than to condemn. During his reign, (independently of the legal confirmation of that great charter of our liberties, by which, in spite of the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,

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we shall still be able to support and preserve our constitution, and secure and continue our prosperity,) foreign commerce first began to extend itself, and an enlargement of the internal trade of the kingdom immediately followed. —To the wealth and consequence produced from these sources, added to the improvements, which such an extensive range of intercourse, excited and imparted among all classes of society, may justly be attributed the acquisition of that great national strength which so brilliantly and wonderfully began afterwards to accumulate; and which has since been so often, and so conspicuously, displayed in later times.

With respect to the tract, on the reprinting of which the above observations have occurred to the Editor, it appears, from the title page, to have been presented to King James. The motive for such a presentation was, no doubt, to point out to a Sovereign, somewhat peculiarly situated, the best means of guarding him against the errors,—by shewing to him the evils,—which occurred in the reign of one of his predecessors. The original is believed to be very rare. It was purchased by a friend of the Editor's, among a fine and numerous collection of

books, which had for several generations been the best ornament, and certainly one of the choicest treasures, of the mansion of a neighbouring family of rank and consequence in the country; and which, in all probability, might long have so remained, had not the last possessor,—a Dowager Lady of Fashion,—been so utterly regardless of the memory of her consort, and his illustrious ancestors, by whom the books had been collected, as to be induced to part with them for the sake of two or three paltry hundred pounds.

In the *true style* of reprinting, the number of copies has been limited; and the old mode of spelling invariably preserved. The portrait, which accompanies the publication, is a faithful fac simile copy, by Lambert, of the very scarce original.

B. T. J.

Newcastle, 25th October, 1817.

A

SHORT VIEW

OF THE LONG RAIGNE OF

HENRY THE THIRD.

WEARIED with the lingring calamities of Civill Armes, and afrighted at the sudden fall of a licencious Soveraigne, all men stood at gaze expecting the euent of their long desires (Peace) and issue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in every shift of Princes there are few either so meane or modest that please not themselues with some probable object of preferment. To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose Innocency and naturall goodnesse led him safe along the various daungers of his Fathers Raigne: Happy was he in his Vnkle the Earle of Pembrook, the guide of his infancy, and no lesse then for thirty yeares after whilst De Burgo, that fast servant of his Fathers against the Hist. Minor. Math. Paris.

French, both in Normandy and England with Bygod Earle of Norfolke and others of like grauity and experience did manage the Affayres. Few and no other were the distempers then in State, but such as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobillity of Rule, and but one violent storme raised by some old and constant followers of his Father, Fulco de Brent de Fortibus and others, men that could onely thrive by the warres, misliking those dayes of sloath (for so they termed that calme of King Henries gouernment;) and the rather because the Iustice of quiet times vrged from them to the lawfull owners, such Lands and Castles as the fury of war had vniustly given them, for finding in the vprightnesse of the King, that power of protection should not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it, ended their liues and competitors, professing that those their swords that had set the Crown vpon their Soveraignes head, when neither Maiestie nor Lawe could, should now secure those small pittances to their Maisters, when Majesty or Lawe would not. Dangerous are too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merrit, nothing of duty. No other disquiet did the state after this feele, but such as is incident in all, the mallice to Authority: Good and great men may secure themselves from guilt, but not from enuy: for the greatest in trust of publike affaires are still shot at by the aspiring of those that

Math. Paris. Hist. Maior.

Hist. Sancti Albani.

deeme themselues lesse in imployment then they are in merrit. These vapours did ever and easily vanish so long as the helme was guided by temporate spirits, and the King tied his Actions to the rule of good Councell, and not to young passionate or single aduice.

Thirty yeares now passed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but de Burgo, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whose length of dayes giving him the aduantage of sole power, his owne Ambition and Age gave him desire, and Art, to keepe out others, which wrought him into the fatal enuy of most, and that encreased in the Title of Earle, & great Offices the King then gave him. Time by this, had wrought, as in itselfe, so in the hearts of the people, a Reuolution, the afflictions of their fathers forgotten, and the surfeit of long peace; perchance hauing let in some abuses, from hence, the Commons to whom dayes present seeme ever worst, commend the foregone ages they never remembred, and condemne the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof nor the remedy. Chro. *de* Dunest Ioan*de* Walingford.

To these idle and vsuall humors, fell in some of the young and noble spirites, warme and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the rest) first by sullying the wisedome of the present and greatest rulers, (making each casuall mishap their Errors:) seeme to decypher every blemish in Government, and then by holding certayne imaginary and fantasticke formes of Common- Chron. *de* Litchfield.

wealths, flatter their owne beleefe and ability, that they can mold any State, to these generall rules, which in particular application will prove idle and grosse absurdities.

Gual. *de* Couen.

Next confirmed in their owne worth by Sommery and Spencer, they take it a fit time to worke themselues into action, and imployment, a thing they had long desired, and now (though vnwilling to seeme so) doe sue for, and doubtlesse the furthest of their ayme was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had beene then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earle, That *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse ;* and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled), were *Nouandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*, fitter in being factious to disorder, then to settle affayres, eyther denyed or delayed their desires ; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotijs*, and not *supra*, Creatures out of meere election, that are onely theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Math. Paris. Hist. minor.

Amonst this vnequal medly, there were of the Nobility, Richard Earle of Pembrook, Glocester, and Hartford, darlings of the multitude ; some for the merrit of their Fathers, whose memories they held Sacred, as Pillars of publike liberty and opposers of encroaching Monarchy : at Runemeed the Armies met. And of the Gentry, Fitz-Geffeory, Bardolph, Grisley, Maunsell and Fitz-Iohn, spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant spleene,

Chron. Petri Pectauien.

as the places from whence they were elected Campe, Court, or Countrey, could affoord any: These by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earle of Kent, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and as one sayth of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquis aut flexum in vesperum die.* Math. Paris.

In the end, Sommery and Spencer, two that were farre, in opinion with the rest, Gentle-men, by Forraine education and imployment, more quallified then vsually men of these Times, and that set vppon their owne deserts; the best places when the Streame should turne, (which one of them, Spencer, did vnworthily obtayne, for he dyed in actuall Rebellion, *Iusticiarius Angliæ*, against his master) advised that the best meanes to remooue that great and good obstackle, the Earle of Kent, out of the way of their advancement, was by sifting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, Peter Bishop of Winchester, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest beeing driuen out by the worst, they shall eyther be able to mate him with his owne vice, which will be euer more visible, as hee is more potent, and so remooue him at pleasure: or else giue over the King to such Ministers, to their bad desires, as loosing him the hearts of his people, might smooth them away to their bad desires, *Honores quos quieta*

Cicero in Cattalline Orat prima.

Reipublica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. Thus Counsell heard, approoued and put in practise, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, by mouy and opinion, or increase of power.

Lib. Bermondsey. Vita abbati sancti albani.

Articles are in all hast forged, and vrged against the Earle, as sale of Crowne land; wast of the Kings Treasure; and lastly, (that which these doubtfull times held capitall) his giuing allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Soueraigne and the Subiects, as hee had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his nonage, and enforced the subiect to pay as the Record sayth, *Non juxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid Iusticiarius estimabat.*

Lib. Bermondsey. Vita abbati sancti albani.

Well? hee cleared himselfe of all, but the last, and did worthily perish by it; for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are euer the ruines of their first Inventers; bad times corrupt good Councells, and make the best Ministers, yeeld to the lust of Princes, therefore this King cannot passe blamelesse, that would so easily blemish all former merrits, of so good a seruant, for that wherein himselfe was chiefe in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and sooner cloyd then others, more transitory their fauours, and as their mindes are large, so they easily ouer-looke their first election, tying their affections, no further then their owne satisfactions.

The Bishop now alone manageth the State; chooseth his chiefe instrument, Peter de Riuallis, a man like himselfe, displaceth his natiues, and draweth Poictions and Brittons into Offices of best trust, and benefit; and the King into an euill opinion of his people. For nothing is more against the nature of the English, then to haue strangers rule ouer them, of this mans time, Wendouer, an Author then liuing, sayth, *Iuditia committuntur injustis Leges ex legibus Pax discordantibus justitia iniuriosis.* Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went cleare, and had not the discreeter Bishops calmed all by dutifull perswasions, and informing the King that the support of this bold mans power (whose carriage before had lost his Father, Normandy the loue of his people, and in that his Crowne) would by teaching the sonne to reject in passion the just petitions of his loyall Subjects, (as of late the Earle of Pembrooke his Earle Marshall of England the due of his Office) driue all the State into discontent by his bad advise, and corrupt manners, doubtlesse the rebellious Lords had ended this distemper, as their designe was, in a ciuill Warre.

Regis Roffen.

Annalis de Ely.

Denials from Princes must bee supplyed with gracious vsage, that though they cure not the sore, yet they may abate the sence of it; but best it is, that all fauours come directly from themselues; denialls and things of bitternesse from their Ministers.

Claus. anno 37 H. 3, M. 26. Chron. Hall.

Thus are the strangers all displaced and banished, Riuallis extortions ransackt, by many strict Commissions of enquiry; the Bishop sent away disgraced, finds now that *Nulla quæ sita scelere potentia diuturna;* and that in Princes fauours there is no subsistance betweene the highest of all, and precipitation. The Lords still frustrate of their malicious ends, beganne to sow of these late grounds of the peoples discontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de principe sermones & queque, alia turbamenta vulgi*, and tooke it vp a fashion to endeare and glorifie themselues with the sencelesse multitude, by depraving the Kings discretion, and Governement, whose nature too gentle for such insolent spirits, was forced (as Treuet sayth) to seeke as he presently did, advise and loue amongst strangers, seeing no desert could purchase it at home, all bore themselues like Tutors and Controllers, few like subjects and Councellours. God wee see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Councellors as the quality of the subiect merriteth.

Chron. Litchf. Math. Paris. Roger Wendouer.

For Mountford a Frenchman became the next Obiect of the Kings Delight, a Gentle-man of choyce blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Soveraigne did so much Doate, that at his first entrance of Grace, in enuy of the Nobility, hee made him Earle of Leicester; and in no lesse offence of the Cleargy, by violating the rites of the holy Church,

gaue him his vowed, vailed, sister to wife. More of Arte then vsually some haue deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependancy, the strength of his assurance, so both at his will.

Mountford made wanton thus with dalliance of his Maister, forgetteth moderation, for seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and suddaine fortunes, hee draweth all publike affayres into his owne hands, all fauours must passe from him, all preferments by him, all suites addressed to him, the King but as a cypher set to adde to this figure, the more of number. Great is the Soueraignes errour, when the hope of subiects must recognize it selfe beholden to the seruant, which ought immediately to bee acknowledged, from the goodnesse and good election of himselfe: Though Princes may take aboue others some reposefull friend, with whom they may participate their neerest passions; yet ought they so to temper the affayres of their fauour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principallities. Chron. Ioan. Sulgraue.

At this the great and grauest men began to grieue, knowing the vnworthy without honour, or merrit, thus to deale alone in that which should passe through their hands, and to leape ouer all their heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices, and therefore runne along with the then rising grace of the Kings halfe brethren, (though strangers) hoping thereby to deuide that power, which otherwise they saw impossible to breake.

Chron. Reading.

Leicester confident of his Maister's loue, and impatient to beare eyther riuall in fauour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all, but findeth in his ebbe of fauour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could euer as easily transferre his fancy as he had settled his affection. Great we see must be the arte and cunning of that man, that keepes himselfe a floate in the streame of Soueraignes fauour, since the change of Princes wils, which for the most part are ful of fancy, and soone satiate are hardly arrested: Who so would effect this, must only attend the honour and seruice of his Maister, and dispoyled of all other respects, transforme himselfe into his inward inclination and worke into necessity of imployment, by vndergoing the Offices of most secrecy, eyther of publicke seruice, or princes pleasures, he must also beate downe Competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceale his owne greatnesse in publicke, with a fained humility, and what impotency or gouernment hee affecteth, let it rather seeme the worke of others, out of conueniency, then any appetite of his owne.

Hen. Knighton Moh. Leicest.

Now were the raynes of rule, by this advantage, taken by the rebellious Lords, and put alone into the hands of the Kings halfe brethren: Adam, Gnido, Godfray, and William, himselfe as before; *Et magna Fortuna licentiam tantum vsurpans:* For to act his owne part, hee was ever wyer-drawne when he had such worthy servants as would often for his Honour vrge it. For these Masters, (as Wallingford termeth them) *Tanta elati jactantia quod*

nec superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem mellitis & mellitis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis a ratione tramite declinantes, doe alone what they list. They fill up the place of Iustice and Trust, with their Country-men, strangers, exact of whom, how and what they please, waste the Treasure and Crowne Lands on themselues and their followers, set prices on all offences, and rayne the Law within the rule of their owne Brests. The vsual reply of their seruants, to the playnts of the Kings subjects, being *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult;* these strangers seemed in their Lawlesse carriage not to haue bin inuited, but to haue entred the state by Conquest: The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serue, and the meane to liue so as they might justly say, they had nothing, yet least the King should heare the groanes of his people, and the wickednesse of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they barre all such accesse: Suspition beeing the best preseruer of her owne deserts, aymeth at these, who hath more of vertue then themselves, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of governement in a King, when it falls to bee prey to such Lawlesse Minions, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the State, all take warrant generally from Princes weakenesses, of licentious liberty and greatnesse, makes profit particularly by it, and therefore giue way to encrease ill, to encrease their gaynes.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Lib. Monastery Ramsey.

Claus. anno 42, Hen. 3.

A Famine accompanieth these corruptions, and that so violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writes to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos sepelicendos famis media deficientes :* Famine proceedes, *Fames præcessit & secutus est gladius tam terribilis vt nemo inermis secure possit, provincias perragare :* For all the Villages of the Kingdome were left a prey to the lawlesse Multitude : Who *Per diversas partes itinerantes velut per Consentum aliorum*, (as the Record sayth) did imply that the factious Lords suspected by the King, had giuen some heat to that commotion. Seditious Peeres bringing euer fewell to such popular fires.

Chron. *London.*

Neither was the Church without a busie part in this Tragicke worke for Walter Bishop of Worcester, and Robert of Lincolne, to whom Mountford and his faction, *Præcordialiter adhærebant* were farre ingaged. In such designes, Church-men are neuer wanting, and the distaste of the present gouernement, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will euer be a knot of strength for such vnquiet spirits, who as well frame to themselues some other forme of gouernment ; then the present in the Church, as in the temporall state, as that which with the giddy multitude winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly suite the peoples humours, so much distasting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pompe, their greedines and the Popes extortions.

Wil. de Rishan.

A fayre pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to

vse their bitter pens and speeches, so farre agaynst Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence of Excommunication at Rome, and Treason at home; for hee enjoyned the Earle of Leicester in *Remissione peccatorum vt causam illam* (meaning his Rebellions,) *vsquæ ad mortem assumeret, asserens pacem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ numquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this man could plant, by liberty or warre when the first Church rose by fasting and prayer. Math. Paris. *Wil. de Rishanger.*

True Piety binds the Subject to desire a good Soveraigne, but to beare with a bad one, and to take vp the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserue abatement, then resist authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to leade vs in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our owne duties, in difficult poynts of Religion, where an humble ignorance, is a safe and secure knowledge, wee may relye vppon them.

To suppresse these troubles, and supply the kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to releeue the King as they did to acquiet the State, their end at that time beeing onely to open at home the pouerty of their Maister, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to braue out their owne passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit. *Barth. Coton.* Chr. Norw. Chr. Worc.

Here they began to tell him hee had wronged the

publicke State in taking to his private election the Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer, that should be onely by the Common Councell of the Realme, commending much the Bishop of Chicester for denying deliuery of the great Seale but in Parliament where hee receiued it.

M. Paris.

Wendouer.

They blame him to haue bestowed the best places of trust and benefit in his gift on strangers, and to leaue the English vnrewarded, to haue vndone the trade of Merchants by bringing in Maltolts and heauy customes, and to haue hurt the common liberty by *non obstantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for priuate fauorites.

Walling-ford.

Paris.

Wil. de Ris-hanger.

That he hath taken from his Subjects *quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculentis Rusticorum enim equos bigas vina victualia ad libitum cæpit.*

Chron. sancti Albani.

That his Iudges were sent in Circuits vnder pretext of Iustice to fleece the people, *Causis fictitijs quoscunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir Robert de Purslowe had wrung from the Borderers of his Forrest vnder pretence of encrochments or assarts great summes of money.

And therefore they wonder that he should now demaund reliefe from his so pilled and polled Commons, who by their former extremities *& per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur vt nihil aut parum habeant in bonis.* And therefore aduised him, that since his needlesse expence, *Postquam regni cæpit esse dilapidatur*, was

Gual. *de* Couentry.

summed vp by them to aboue 800000l. It were fitting to pull from his fauorites, who had gleaned the Treasure of his Kingdome, and shared the olde Lands of the Crowne, seeing one of them there whom the Lords described to be *Miles litteratus* or *Clericus militaris*, who had in short space frō the inheritance of an acre, growne to the possession of an Earledom; and Mansel another inferiour Clearke that (besides 50 promotions with the cure of soules) rose to dispend in annuall reuenue 4000 marks, wheras more moderate Fees would haue become a pen-man, no better quallified then with the ordinary fruits of a Writing Schoole, yet if a moderate supply would suite with the Kings occasions, they were content to performe so farre reliefe in Obedience, as the desert of his carriage should merrit toward them; and so as the Record sayth, *Dies datur fuit in tres septimanas vt interim Rex excessuos corrigeret & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.*

Wil. de Rishang.

Chron. Litchf.

Hist.minor. *Wil. de Rishanger.* *Epist. Robt. Lincolne.*

Math.Paris.

At which day vppon new grant of the great Charter, admittance to his Councell of some persons elected by the Commons, and promise to relye vppon his Natiues, and not Strangers; for aduise hereafter; they spare him such a pittance as must tye him to their Devotion, for a new supply.

Regis Roffen. Iohan. de Wallingford.

Thus Parliaments that before were euer a medicine to heale vp any rupture in Princes fortunes, are now growne worse then the mallady, sith from thence more mallignant

humors beganne to raigne in them, then well composed tempers.

Chron. *de* Leic.

The King by this, experienced of the intents of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treasure was the way whereby they inthralled his Majesty, begins now to play the good husband, closeth his hand of wast, and resolues himselfe (too late) to stand alone, such experience is pernitious to the priuate, and dangerous to the publique good of a state, when it never learnes to doe, but by undoing, and never sees order, but when disorder shewes it. Yet still alas, such was his flexibillity when he came to bee pressed by his French minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaste desires, and endlesse waste. So that an Author then living, saith, it became a by-word, *our inheritance is converted to Alliens, and our Houses to Strangers.* Followers to a King excessiue in guifts, are excessiue in demaunds, and cut them not out by reason, but by example: Favours past are not accompted, wee loue no bounty but what is meerely future, the more that a Prince weakeneth himselfe in giving, the poorer he is of friends: For such prodigallity in a Soveraigne, ever ends in the rapine and spoyle of his Subjects.

Yet before the King would againe submit himselfe, as hee had the last Parliament, to so many braue and strict inquiries of his disloyall subiects, he meaneth to passe through all the shifts, that extreamity of neede, with

greatnesse of minde could lay vppon him. He beginneth first with sale of Lands, and then of Iewells, pawneth Gascoyne, and after that, his Imperiall Crowne, and when hee had neyther credit to borrow, (hauing so often fayled, the trust hee had made,) nor pawnes of his owne, hee then layeth to pawne the Iewells and Ornaments of St. Edward's Shrine; and in the end, not hauing meanes to defray the dyet of his Court, was enforced to breake vp House, (and as Paris sayth) with his Queene and Children, *Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus satis humiliter Hospitia quæ siuit et prandia.*

Claus. anno 46, & 47, Henry 3.

Claus. anno 37, Henry 3.

This low ebbe which agayne the Kings improuidence had brought him to, gaue great assurance to the Rebellious Lords, that they should now at the last, haue the Soveraigne power, left a prey to their ambitious designes, and to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more, then to see the Kings extreamity: Constrayne a Parliament, for at such times, Princes are euer lesse then they should be, subiects more.

To hasten on the time, and adapt the meanes, there are sowne certayne seditious rumors, that the Kings necessity must repayre it selfe vpon the fortunes and blessings of his people, that hauing nothing of his owne left, hee might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subiects haue meanes to supplye.

Wil. de Rishanger.

This tooke fire just to their mindes, and wrought a

little moouing in the State, which doubtlesse had flamed higher, if the King had not asswaged it by Proclamations, wherein hee declared *Quod quidam malivoli sinistra predicantes, illis falso suggesserant illum velle eos indebite gravari, ac jura & libertatos Regni subuertere, et per suggestiones illas dolosas et omnina falsas eorum corda à sua malidictione, et fidelitate auerterent*, but desireth, that *Hujusmodi animorum suorum perturbationibus, ne finem adhiberent*, for that hee was euer ready to defend them from the oppression of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura et Consuetudinis eorum debitas bonas, et Consuetas, in omnibus et per omnia plenius obseruare*, and that they may rest of this secure: *De voluntate sua libera, litteras suas fecit patentes.* But seeing still that Majesty and right subsist not without meanes and power, and himselfe had of neyther, so much as would stop the present breach in his owne wants, or his subiects loyalties, hee flyeth to the bosome of his people, for reliefe and Councell.

Claus. anno 49 lib. 3.

Parl. Oxon. At *Oxford* they met in Parliament, where his necessity, met so many vndutifull demands, that he was forced to render vp to their Rebellious will, his Royall power.

Heere the Commons knowing that, *Quum elegere inceperunt*, they were *Loco libertatis*, stood with the King to haue the managing of the State, put to the care of twenty foure, whereof twelue by their election, (whereto they looke strictly) and the other by him, how in all things else, was left a Cypher, and in this, whether

Math. Paris. Chron. Worc.

by feare, or remissenes, filled vp his number with *Mountford*, *Glocester*, and *Spencer*, which besides the weakening of his owne part, wonne to those his late opposites, an opinion of great interest they had got in his fauour, hee now hath left neyther election of publicke office, nor priuate attendants, his halfe brethren and their followers, he must dispoyle of all fortune, and exile by prescription vnder his owne hand, commaunding his Writs, *Pro transportatione fratrum suorum*, to bee directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to passe eyther their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Nisi in forma quam dicti Committes injunxerent*, and after their departure enjoyned the men of Brystoll, that they should not permit any strangers, *Siue propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but so to behaue themselues therein, that aswell the King, *Quam Magnates sui eos merito debeant commendare.*

Chron. Litchf.

Claus. anno 49 Hen. 3.

Thus wee see how easily mens estates doe change in a moment, and how hard it is to make vse of all things ill gotten.

Richard Elect of the Empire, the Kings full Brother, and then beyond Sea, must bee wrought by Letter, as his free desire to confirme by Oath those former restrictions of regall power, which though performed, yet would the Lords suffer neyther the one or the other, to enter *Douer* Castle (the key of the Kingdome) which they had furnished, as most of the other Fortes of

Chron Sancti Albani.

Reg. Roffen.

of reputation in the Realme with Guardians of their owne, sworne respectiuely to the State; and then taking the like assurance of all the Shrieffes, Bayliffes, Coroners, and other publicke Ministers, searching the behauiour of many by strict Commission vppon oath, to winne opinion in shewe among the Vulgar, who groaned vnder their late Extortions, whereas their end was truely, as it after proved, by displacing the faythfull Servants of the King, to open a way, to their owne dependants.

Rot. in Scrio.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Thus changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State beleeue, that this forme of limitted pollicy, they had vtterly suppressed the minde of man, for euer dreaming more vppon the imaginary humours of lycencious Soueraignity: But it fell out nothing so, for now euery man beganne to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on euery designe, that might enlarge his power and commaund.

Then beganne the great men to rent from the body of the Crownes, and regall signiories, all such royall suitors as neighboured any of their owne seats, whereto they enforce their seruice, and so (as the Record sayth) *Ad sectas indebitas, & seruitutes intollerabiles subditos Regis compulerunt:* Thus raising meane manners to become great Honours, and renting a sunder the regall Iustice, they made themselues of so many subjects whilst they lived in duty, *Totidem Tiranni* (as the

Scacar.

Booke of Saint *Albans* sayth) when they had left their loyalty, *Magnas induxerunt Magnates Regni, super subditos Regis seruitutes & oppressiones*, which they bore patiently; for excesse of misery hauing no ease but Custome, made men willing to lay the foundation of seruitude by the length of sufferance, which found no ease or end, vntill the quiet of this Kings Reigne.

Rot. Regis in Scboa. 56. H. 3.

Mountford, *Glocester*, and *Dispencer*, the Heads of this Rebellious designe, hauing by the late prouisions drawne to the hands of the twenty foure *Tribunes*, of the people, the entire managing of the Royall State, and finding that power too much disperced to worke the end of their desires, forst agayne the King to call a Parliament, where they deliuered ouer the authority of the twenty foure vnto themselues, and Create a *Triumvirate, non Constituenda Republicæ causa*, as they first pretended, for their owne ends, and so in the interest of some priuate contented, the publike was stayed; but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus:* Ambition is neuer so high, but she thinkes still to mount, that station which seemed lately the toppe, is but a steppe to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seemes little, being once in power.

Wallingford.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Chro. *de Dunst.*

These three elect nine Councellours, and appoynt *Quod tres ad minus aleernatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, *et de alijs Regni negotijs*,

Ordinat. inter Rec. Lond.

the chiefe Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer, with all Offices, *Maiores et minores*, they reserue the choyce of to themselues, and bind the King to this hard bargayne vppon such strong security; that hee is contented under the great Seale, and Oath, to loose to them the knot of Regall duty, whensoever hee assumeth to himselfe his Regall dignity, *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos, in surgere et ad grauamen nostrum opem & operam dare at si nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy of fortune of whom she had set a pittifull example of her inconstancy, finding no part of his Soveraignty left, but the bare Title, and that at their leaue, beggeth succour from *Vrbane the fourth*, agaynst his disloyall subjects.

Chron. Origin. sub sigillo.

The Pope by his Bull cancelleth his Oath, and contract, and armeth him with Excommunications agaynst all those that returne not with speed, to their due and old Obedience, since promises made by men, which cannot say they are at liberty, are weake, and force hath no power to make just interest.

Chron. Litchf.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Chro. Britaniæ.

Chron. Dunst.

The Lords on the other side that had imped their winges with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the ashes of Monarchy, made head against their Soveraigne, and to mate him the better, called in ayde, some French forces: Thus the Commonwealth turned agayne her sword into her owne bowells, and invited her ancient enemy, to the funerall of her liberty; so that it was a wonder she should not at this

time passe vnder a forrayne servitude. And though these men were more truely sensible of their owne disgrace, then of others misery: Yet found they no better pretext for private interest then that of the publicke.

And therefore at the entry of this war, they cryed liberty, although when they came neere to an end, they neuer spake word of it.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeauours a reconciliation, but in vayne, for perswasions are ever vnprofitable, when Iustice is inferiour to force. *Wil. de Rishanger.*

The sword decides the difference, and gaue the two Kings, and their eldest Sonnes Prisoners. The person now aswel as the regall power; thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neyther bond of security, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatnesse (which now beganne to break out betweene these mighty Riuals,) gaue hope of, for *Leicester* meaning by ingrossing from his partner, to himselfe, the person of the King, and to his followers the best portion of the spoyle, to draw more fruite from this advantage, then it should in fellowship yeeld, dissolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority with the same power, is euer fatall (wee see) to all great actions: For to fit mindes to so euen a temper, that they should not haue some motions of dissenting is impossible.

Mountford hauing thus broken all faith with his Confederates, and duty to his Soveraigne, left the path of moderation and to wisedome to come to the King by that of pride and distrust. To him he telleth that his Armes and ends had no other object euer but order of the State, and ease of the people, that hee did not in this, carry affection against duty, but well knew how to reyne his desires, to his just power, and so no lesse to his Majesties content, if hee would be ruled; which was to commaund the Fortes and Castles of his now opposite *Glocester*, and the rest into his hands. It was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, but necessity in Soueraigne affaires doth often force away all formallity; and therefore this poore Prince, who now at the Victors discretion, seemed to haue beene onely raysed to shew the inconstancy of fortune and vanity of man, suited himselfe with incomparable wisedome, according to the necessity of the time. Neyther did humillity wrong Majesty, when there was no other meanes to contayne spirits so insolent but dissembling. He therefore summoneth in his owne person the forts of his fastest friends, to yeeld to his greatest enemies. This hee enters in shew as his lodging, but in effect his Prison, and saw himselfe forced to arme against his friends, and to receiue now Lawe from him, to whom hee lately thought to giue it. Thus *Leicester* is become a darling of the common rout, who easily change to

euery new Maister, but the best durst not sayle along his Fortune, by the light of his glory: Christall that fairely glistereth doth easily breake, and as the ascent of vsurping royalty is slippery, so the top is shaking, and the fall fearefull. To hold this man then at the entry of his false felicity fully happy, was but to giue the name of the Image, to the mettle that was not yet molten, for by this the imprisoned Prince was escaped, and fast assured of *Glocester*, by the knot of his great minde, and discontent, and both with the torne remainder of the loyall Army vnited, and by speedy march arriued vnlooked for, neere *Euesham*, to the vnarmed troupes of the secure Rebells, whom they instantly assayled for it, was no fit season to giue time, when no time did assure so much, as expedition did promise.

Dispencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the best speede for mercy, but could not breake out, beeing hurried along the storme of the giddy multitude.

Publicke motions depends on the Conduct of Fortune; private on our owne carriage, we must beware of running downe steepe hills, with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, stoppes are not then voluntary; but *Leicester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storme might haue escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune, so that hee could neyther forsake his followers, nor his

ambition: thus making adversity the exercise of his vertue, hee came and fell.

The King by the blessed fortune freed, and obeyed, began to search the ground of his former misery, and why that vertue and fortune that had so long setled and maintayned vnder his ancesters the glory of his Empire, had cast her in his time off, and conspired with her Enemies, to her almost ruine, as if the Genius of the state had quite forsooke her; Here he findes his wastfull hand had beene too quicke both ouer the fortunes and the blessings of his people, the griping Auarice of his ciuill Ministers and lawlesse liberty of his Martiall followers, the neglect of grace, and breach of his word, to haue lost his nobility at home, and necessity, his Reputation abroad, by making Merchandize of peace, and warre as his last refuge, so leauing his old Allies became enforced to betake himselfe to persons doubtfull, or injured, and that by giuing ouer himselfe to a sensuall security and referring all to base greedy and vnworthy Ministers whose councells were euer more subtle then substantiall, he had throwne downe those pillars of soueraignty, and safety, Reputation abroad, and Reuerence at home.

Rot. pat. 53. H. 3. M. 51. Rishanger.

Hee now therefore making sweetnesse and clemency the entrances of his regayned Rule for the faults of most of the late rebells he forgot a gracious kinde of pardoning not to take knowledge of offences, others he forgot, that they might liue but to the glory of his goodnes, for the fewer killed, the more remaines to adorne the Trophee.

Io. Tuxeter, Mon. Bury.

Rot. Cart. 51. 52. H. 3.

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure Kings for necessity, yet least his Iustice and power might too much suffer in his grace and mercy, some few hee punished by small fines, some by banishment, as the two guiltlesse yet vnpittied sonns of the Arch-traytor. Treason so hatefull is to the head, that it draweth (we see in this) the carriage of the innocent children into an euerlasting suspect, and what is suspition in others is guilt in them: Vpon the constant followers of his broken fortunes he bestoweth, but with a more wary hand then before the forfeiture of his Enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weake meanes to win loue, for it lost more in the gathering then it gained in the giuing. This bounty bestowed without respect, was taken without grace, discredited the receiuer and detracteth from the judgement of the giuer, and blunted the Appetites of such, as carried their hopes out of vertue and seruice: Thus at last he learned that reward and reprehension justly layd doe ballance gouernment, and that it much importeth a Prince the hand to bee equall that holdeth the scale.

Claus.52.H. 3. M. 29.

Chron. Dunst.

In himselfe hee reformed his naturall Errors, Princes manners though a mute law haue more of life and vigour then those of letters, and though he did sometimes touch vpon the verge of vice hee forbore euer after to enter the circle.

His court wherein at this time the faults of great men

did not onely by approbation, but Imitation receiue true comfort, and authority, for their crimes now became examples, and customes, hee purged very judiciously and seuerely, since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the common state.

Ordinat. author. Reg. aula. Claus. 53. H. 3. Rishanger.

Expence of house he measureth by the just Rule of his proper reuenew and was heard often to say, that his excesse of wast before had beene an issue of his Subjects blood, the insolency of his Souldiers made lawlesse by the late liberties of Ciuill armes he spendeth in forraigne expedition. Hauing seene that the quiet Spirits vnderwent all the former Calamities, and the other neuer were satisfied but in the misery of Innocents, and would if they had no enemies abroad seeke out at home as they had done before.

Rot. 53. & 54. H. 3. Comment. de Trailbaston.

The rigour and corruption of his judiciall Officers he examineth, and redresseth by strict Commission; For the sence of their securitie, became a murmure of his owne cruelty.

The seates of Iudgement and Councell he filled vp with men nobly borne. For such attract with lesse offence, the generous spirrits to respect and reuerence. Their Abilities he measureth not by fauour or by Priuate Information as before, but by publike voyce for euery man in particular may deceiue and be deceiued, but no man can deceiue all, nor all one.

And to discouer now his owne Capacity and what part

he meaneth to beare hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions he sitteth himselfe in Councell daily, and disposeth Affaires of most weight in his owne person. For Councellors be they neuer so wise or worthy are but as accessaries, not principals, in sustentation of the State; their Office must be subjection, not fellowship in considerations of moment, and to haue abillity to aduise, not authority to resolue.

For as to liue the Prince must haue a particular soule so to rule his proper and interne Councell, without the one hee can neuer be truely man, without the other he shall never be securely a Prince, for it offendeth as well the minister (of merrit) as the people to force obedience to one vncapable of his owne greatnesse, or vnworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull Change to the generall State (so hopelesse lately to recouer her former liberty, they sought now for nothing but the mildest seruitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

He that will lay (we see) the foundation of Greatnesse vpon popular loue, must giue them ease and Iustice, for they measure the bond of their obedience, by the good always that they receiue.

This peace attended euer after his Age and hearse and hee happily liued to fashion his sonne and successor, and to make him partner of his owne experience and authority; whose owne hard education trayning him

Barth. Coton. Chron. Norw

from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beasts: framed him to affect glory, and vertue; which made him superiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Raigne were exact grounds of Discipline, and pollicy; for his best successour to rule by after, who as he was the first of his name since the Conquest, so was he the first that setled the law and state, deseruing the Stile of *Englands Iustinian*, and freed this Kingdome from the wardship of the Peeres, shewing himselfe in all his Actions after, capable to Commaund not the Realme onely, but the whole world.

Thus doe the wrongs of our Enemies more then our owne discretions, make vs sometimes both wise and fortunate.

FINIS.

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